

On the ground the scattered bones are slowly joining together, bone to bone. We already see some heads and limbs, and they in turn unite into whole bodies. Three of them are lying on the ground next to the right mountain ridge. But there is still no life in them. This next action is shown further to the right: again three dead bodies are lying on the ground and from the sky *three winged beings* are descending upon them. One of these three genii is shown approaching one of the bodies and lifting his head, in order to breathe life into it. The next step is represented by the standing man. As in the case of the genii where one of them is shown in action, here again the standing man represents one of the dead bodies risen from the dead; the hand of God is extended towards him. On the other side of the mountains, all the dead bodies are standing revivified, and the hand of God descends upon each of them. Using the words of the prophecy of Ezekiel (37¹¹) the whole house of Israel has come to life.

With this interpretation in mind, Ezekiel is represented only twice, once in the act of calling upon the people of Israel to repent, and the second time in the Valley of Dry Bones. The three dead bodies lying on the ground are a representation of the multitude, as is often the case in ancient art, where a figure thrice repeated stands for the plurality. The genius bending over one of the dead bodies and breathing life into it represents the entire group of which he is a part; the same holds true for the standing revivified man who illustrates the resurrection of the three dead bodies which had already been performed. This again would correspond to the conception of art among the ancients, where one member of a group may represent the whole. If my interpretation is correct, then we have here an unparalleled religious painting, containing episodes which though unconnected by time and space, are nevertheless unified by the one cardinal idea of sin, repentance and forgiveness.

N. B. Unfortunately I had no good photograph of the right part of the panel in Jerusalem. The drawing shown in Pl. XIII. was copied from DU MESNIL, *Revue Biblique*, vol. XLV (1936), p. 85, and completed on the basis of photographs in our possession by Mr. N. AVIGAD of the Archaeological Department of the Hebrew University.

ANNALS OF PALESTINE, 1821-1841

S. N. SPYRIDON

(JERUSALEM)

FOREWORD.

When first I came upon what we call the Mar Saba Collection of Manuscripts, I was greatly elated, yet at the same time depressed. I rejoiced in reading the homely tale of Palestine to be found in these Greek manuscripts. But then, while these manuscripts may be accessible to many at the Greek Patriarchate, Jerusalem, the language is a standing difficulty. The manuscripts are in the Greek tongue, which, although once official in Palestine, is now a dead language to most of the inhabitants of this country. Hence the necessity of translating the manuscripts into a better known medium.

An immense store of information is locked up in the Greek manuscripts of the convents of Mar Saba, Mount Sinai, Mount Athos, and the Phanar, and awaits the diligence of a scholar. The present volume, which the editor hopes to be the forerunner of others, is a translation of a part of a manuscript by the Monk NEOPHYTOS. We know very little about the life of the author, except the scanty information we can glean from his own works. From his other writings we know that he came to Jerusalem from Cyprus in 1801 and that he was still writing in 1846. Here and there, throughout this volume, we get a glimpse of his life. He very probably came to Jerusalem when young and certainly learned the Arabic tongue. His Greek, though very distant from the language of Homer, is still literary. His writings have a human interest all through; in particular there is a great freedom of expression when speaking of the religious communities or, as he calls them, "nations"; he is frank with the candour of a child, yet he never means to be offensive. For this reason the editor has neither suppressed nor changed anything in the translation, even where he decidedly

disagrees with the author's opinions. The translation is very literal, often at the expense of the English.

The translator is especially grateful to Archbishop of Ascalon, Vassilios, Keeper of the Mar Saba Manuscripts, who has kindly given access to the text. He also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Fr. EUGENE HOADE O.F.M. whose collaboration has made the work possible.

Note. The following extracts, which form about two thirds of the whole, work, are a valuable contemporary source for the history of Palestine. It is the translator's intention to republish them at an early date, completed by the remaining portions. The latter deal principally with the internal affairs of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre and its relations with the other religious communities.

It is evident that the author was a man of strong prejudices which led him at times to use violent and wounding language. In the interests of historical accuracy, we have thought it best to let his expressions stand as they were written, and to allow the reader to make the necessary allowances for himself.

The illustrations are taken from contemporary books of travel, notably "Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor in series of Views, drawn from nature by W. H. Bartlett 1836" and "Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt," by Sir Charles Wilson, R.E., K.C.B., F.R.S. EDITOR, JPOS.

TWENTY YEARS.

1821-1841.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY
ORTHODOX CHURCH SUBJECT TO THE
THRONE OF JERUSALEM.
COMPILED BY YOUR MOST HUMBLE SERVANT
NEOPHYTUS OF CYPRUS
MEMBER OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE
IN JERUSALEM.

It was the unhappy fate of our nation, already cruelly and sorely tried, both at home and abroad, to undergo one more—by God's will the last—trial, and to experience, as often before, murder, slavery, confiscation of belongings and beloved offspring, persecution, outrage, insult, scorn, terror, trepidation, and whatever else is read in the history of the dealings of our people with the sons of Hagar.

It is well known that the cause of our late misfortunes, during 1821, 1822 and 1823, was the wish to free ourselves from the irksome yoke of tyranny and slavery. Many have written of the terrible happenings in Greece, Thessaly, Constantinople, Asia Minor and the Islands of the White (Aegean) Sea, as Chios, Crete, and Cyprus. By the grace of God, I have taken notes on the happenings—yet not all—in Jerusalem and in those places subject to the Throne of Jerusalem. My pen, albeit it stinks of ignorance, faithfully speaks of deeds, some of which I have heard of, but most of which I have seen with my own eyes. It is also the hope of this pen, ill-favoured as it is by the Muses, to take up again this story and relate what befell our nation in the years following the period here described.

YOUR MOST HUMBLE SERVANT
NEOPHYTOS OF CYPRUS,
MEMBER OF THE BROTHERHOOD
OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

1821

That was a great and a holy day, the sixth of April, when news arrived of the rebellion of the Greeks from the yoke of slavery! The Locum Tenens of the Patriarch in Jerusalem, Procopios, with the Bishops in the Synod, tried by all means to keep the news from getting abroad, but, on Good Friday, the *Mufti* and the notables of Jerusalem got word by letter from Jaffa of the rebellion. These we persuaded by entreaties and presents to keep quiet and not to disclose the news until after Easter, lest the Turks already seeking an excuse, might be perturbed and cause trouble, whence some untoward accident might befall the pilgrims.

On the second day of *Diakainesimos* (Easter Monday) we hurried off our pilgrims to the Jordan River on their usual pilgrimage,¹ for as yet nobody knew anything. On the morning of the fourth day of *Diakainesimos* (Wednesday) they returned and in the afternoon those of Samos and the other islands, having been informed by sailors of what had happened, left Jerusalem. On Friday morning they went aboard ship and sailed.

On the fifth day of *Diakainesimos* a courier arrived from the *Wāly* of Damascus bringing letters, the contents of which disturbed Jerusalem. Rumours were ripe among the Turks and we strove to fill the mouths of those in power in an attempt to keep the news from the people. Meanwhile we had hurried up the pilgrims, who departed from Jerusalem on the second day of Thomas (second Monday after Easter). But the Governor of Jaffa had received orders from 'Abdallah Pasha of Ptolemais (Acre) that he should carefully search all pilgrims arriving at Jaffa. The Governor did search, carefully, and, when arms were found, he showed his power. The Russian Consul,² George Mostras, also received orders to come down from where he used to reside (a hospice for pilgrims situated on the hill on which the town is built) to a house in the lower part of the town. He did

¹ Formerly the pilgrims went to the Jordan on Easter Tuesday; nowadays they go on the second day of Passion Week.

² There was no Russian Consul in Jaffa before 1812; in February of that year Mostras came.



Camp of Ibrahim Pasha "Ajami" Jaffa 1816



Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem

so, but three days later, fearing that worse might happen, he went on board a Russian boat, on the pretext of seeing to the Russian pilgrims, and then sailed away, leaving behind him his wife and little children.

Immediately afterwards our hospice in Jaffa was occupied by troops from Ptolemais (Acre). The walls of the town were fortified, and a strong garrison with a vigilant guard was placed inside. The Christians were compelled to transport cannons from place to place. A week later the same thing happened in Jerusalem on orders from the Pasha of Damascus, who sent troops to guard the *Kalah* (citadel). On the 25th April there arrived in Jerusalem royal letters from Sultan Mahmud expressly announcing the general revolt of the Greek Islands, and ordering that all Moslems should be armed immediately to guard the fortifications of the towns and the fortresses. Furthermore, he warned them that they should be careful and not believe anything from the Christians and especially from the Greeks (*Romei*). He also commanded that all arms should be immediately collected from the Christians. Straightway ours was a sorry plight here in Jerusalem. The children of Hagar had now the opportunity and the time to behave as they wished. Young men and old and even children armed themselves. First of all came those in power, the Mutesarrif, the Janissaries, and the rest, who entered the Patriarchate and searched up and down, inside and outside, for the arms which we did not have. The same procedure was gone through in the rest of our monasteries, and in the houses of the Christians of Jerusalem and of the Franks (Latins). Having taken all the arms they could lay hands on in Jerusalem, they proceeded to Bethlehem, Beitjala, Ramallah, and to other Christian villages around Jerusalem and took their guns and *hanjars* (daggers). Then knowing that the monasteries outside of Jerusalem, such as that of St. Saba, St. Elias and the Holy Cross, kept guns in order to protect themselves against robbers, they went and seized their weapons. That completed, they fell to inventing means whereby they could continually extort money from us, the Brotherhood (the Community) of the Holy Sepulchre.

Then it was announced by heralds (*dallāl*) that all the *Rayahs* (Christian subjects of the Sultan) should dress in black. Later the Turks began to arrest the Orthodox and imprison them.

The next day the Pasha summoned Flavianos again. He came, supported by two servants. He asked him to tell where he had hidden the belongings of the fellahs, and when he refused to confess, he gave orders to administer him another 500 strokes.

The Pasha, however, seeing that he was nearly spent, gave orders to hang him instead. The Pasha's secretaries chanced to be present. They, being Orthodox, fell at the feet of the *Kyahya*¹ and begged him to intercede with the enraged Pasha and prevent so great a shame to our people. With the help of the *Kyahya*, the Superior escaped the gallows and was carried back to prison by the servants. After many entreaties we finally obtained leave to take him to the Patriarchate, where, with the help of physicians, his life was saved, but he remained lame on both feet until his death.

The Pasha on being informed that the people of the village of Mälha had hidden their goods in the monastery of the Holy Cross, sent soldiers who seized them. They even dug up the monastery in several places to find the money and other belongings of the fellahs. It was also reported to the Pasha that the people of Bethlehem and many from Beitjala, 'Ain Kärem, and also from Siloam, had their belongings in certain houses. So, by the order of the Pasha many Christians, Franks, and even Moslems of Jerusalem were imprisoned and were flogged to force them to reveal the whereabouts of the fellahs' goods. They suffered much and had to pay a heavy ransom fee (*jereme*). Calamity prevailed everywhere, inside and outside Jerusalem.

The Pasha, furious and irritable, did not want to come to terms with the fellahs, nor reduce his demands, but only thought of avenging himself in war. He first sent two thousand soldiers to subdue Bethlehem, but they did not succeed in even reaching the town. Increasing his army by mercenary fellahs, he took his artillery with the intention of going to Bethlehem to destroy and burn it. The people of the town, with their allies, took possession of the three convents, and made ready to oppose him. We saw the movements of the Pasha and the fellahs, which threatened the destruction of our monastery and that of the great and venerable ancient Church, and we wept bitterly and prayed to our Lord,

¹ *Kyahya* (*yeri*): Officer Commanding. [EDITOR].

who was born a child in the Grotto, that He would save the situation. Immediately His Divine Grace wrought good.

The Franks and the Armenians also were aware that the Pasha would certainly destroy their convents with his artillery, and, if the fellahs were beaten, wholesale destruction would ensue. So they cooperated with us and we decided to mediate between the Pasha and the fellahs, to try and reconcile them, even at a great loss to ourselves.

With the help of the *Kyahya* and the other Notables we succeeded, but the fine was increased to 100,000 piastres. Of this sum we paid 30,000 which we were forced to borrow.¹ The people of Bethlehem paid another 30,000 and the Franks and Armenians paid 40,000. After the people of Bethlehem had prostrated themselves before him and submitted, the Pasha departed for Jerusalem, leaving a guard in the town and in the convents.

The following day he summoned us, and on various pretexts, demanded triple the amount of our usual payment of 60,000 piastres. Though we explained to him, with tears, our straitened situation, he was unbending. Finally, he consented to our paying 110,000 piastres, but because we did not have this amount nor could we borrow it, he threatened us and demanded that we should find it immediately. The crowns of the Patriarchs, the croziers of the bishops, and other crosses and jewels, were handed over to the rich Jew, Angel, for a loan of 50,000 piastres at a very high rate of interest.

But the Pasha, be he blamed by God, wanted the whole sum immediately. Because we could not find the money, and Easter (which that year fell on April 29th) was at hand, he ordered (probably advised by Musa Bey) that the door of the Holy Sepulchre should not be opened. We wanted to hold the Holy Thursday and Good Friday services as usual but the *Mutewelli*² refused to open the door. After much wrangling we found the way to soften his hard heart: he agreed to accept a bill for the remaining 60,000 piastres to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Polycarpus, who was in Constantinople.

¹ We also paid 8,000 piastres for the *Ebedi* of St. Saba.

² *Mutewelli*, the man in charge of a place, house, or land of Wakf.

wherein they were told that no Christian should be killed except with his permission. On Friday July 8, the *Mullah* announced in the Haram esh-Sherif that all Moslems should betake themselves to the Law Court to hear the Sultan's letters.¹

They all went, and having read the letters, he addressed them thus:

"Loyal and prudent Moslems, you have heard the orders of Sultan Mahmud—May God grant him a long life. These *Romei* who are here in Jerusalem and in the environs have never been known as traitors, nor have they at any time plotted against you by word or action. They are poor people and harmless as you know. We have collected all the arms which they had, and if, perchance, they still have some, they are very few in number. There is scarcely one Christian to a hundred Moslems and since they are so very few it is a shame for us to say that we are afraid of them, and take this as an excuse for killing them. Behold how the Waly of Damascus, the Noble, our lord, Darwish Pasha, not only did not allow any movement against them in Damascus, but he also commands us that we should not kill any *Rayah* without his consent! Therefore, let each one of you return to his home in peace, and let each one continue his work in his own sphere. We shall take the necessary precautions. Do you not disturb the *Rayahs*, for they are faithful; evil done to them is a sin and an injustice against our God and our Prophet."

Like speeches were made by the Effendis, who spoke for more than three hours.

While this speech-making was going on at the Law Courts, a rumour spread throughout the city that the Moslems were gathered at the Law Courts demanding authority (*fetva*) to kill all the *Romei*. We moved in great fear and terror, and, disconsolate, we cried to heaven for help. The Frank Monks and the Armenians gathered their adherents into their own monasteries, lest the Turks in killing the *Romei* might also kill them. This state of terror continued till late in the afternoon, until the Moslems, hearing the moaning and wailing of the women and children and being informed of the

¹ *Mullah*: a judge, both civil and ecclesiastical superior to the *Kadi*: literally, *Mullah* means a priest [EDITOR].

cause, assured us, on oath that they had no such intentions, and explained why they had gathered at the Law Courts. So by God's help we were delivered from the threatening danger and the Moslems were at peace for the moment.¹

By August 15th news had arrived of the daily slaughtering of Christians in Constantinople, and even in Cyprus where they massacred the Archbishop, and the Bishops and all the important Christians on the Island. The insatiable notables and especially the *Mutesellim* with Musa Bey invented different terrors whereby they could take money and presents from us. We continued to give, until the Community treasury and the private purses of the Brethren were empty. Not having more to meet their claims, with tears we began to collect from the Church, and from the other monasteries, the gold and silver ware, lamps, vases, chandeliers, belts etc. These were broken up and smelted down into bars (*gülche*) which we sold at a low price for we were forced to find money immediately. The yearly tax of 60,000 piastres due to the Pasha of Damascus, was now raised to 100,000. Everywhere there was suffering: here from ailments, there from shock; "and there was neither medicine nor bandage to put on it."

The accused *Mutesellim*, Suleiman Effendi, with the *Tufekgi Bashi*, was fully intent upon damaging us and persecuting us. As the days passed they captured here and there Christians, and having flogged them, they left them in chains until money was found for their release. They also took the lime, which we had prepared for the repair of the monasteries and the shelters of the pilgrims, and used it for the repair of the Citadel and the Praetorium, where the modern Pilate of Jewish origin, the *Mutesellim*, resided. This lime cost at least 20,000 piastres. Thus passed the first unlucky year.

¹ We received from the local Notables a written testimony of our innocence, on payment of 1,125 piastres, that is 25 money bags. This testimony, with signatures and seal (*arz-mahzar*) was sent to Constantinople to the Patriarch Polycarpus, to be handed to the Porte in return for a *firman* granting us security.

1823

In this year also, there was great unrest in Phoenicia and Palestine due to the arrival of eleven Greek ships¹ at Beirut. The Christians and the Catholics suffered greatly from the threats of 'Abdallah Pasha, the Governor of Ptolemais, who believed that they were conspiring against him.

When the news of the arrival of the eleven ships reached Jerusalem, the Turks were disturbed for they believed that besides those ships, some others were coming with troops to conquer Jerusalem. They even tried to imprison the Orthodox in the church of the Holy Sepulchre as they had done in 1798 on the coming of Napoleon Bonaparte.²

They abandoned their intention on being informed of the flight of the ships. Then they cursed and threatened us every day and swore: "You wrote to the Greeks to come here and capture this place. But if they appear in these parts, we will slay all of you, from the oldest to the youngest, and we will destroy your church." With God's help we kept them quiet. By borrowing money at a high rate of interest and by mortgaging our property we "put silver and gold into the mouths" of the Notables.

In the same year, 'Abdallah Pasha of Ptolemais caused great mischief to the Christians. He invented means whereby he imprisoned the Metropolitans of Ptolemais, Athanasios, and Benjamin of Beirut. He demanded such great sums of money that the payment left them both impoverished and in serious straits. That

¹ These ships, manned by Greek sailors from the different islands came to the shores of Syria, under the leadership of Hadzi Vasili in order to arouse the inhabitants of the Lebanon to revolt. Having failed in this, they came to Beirut, and bombarded the city, destroying some houses. They then landed and having looted fruits and food and anything they chanced to find, they went back to their ships and departed. 'Abdallah Pasha, on being informed of their arrival, collected his troops, infantry and cavalry, and sent them immediately to guard the coastline of Beirut, Tyre and Sidon, where the Orthodox, and the Catholics, as well suffered much from them.

² At this time, the Armenians seized more than one hundred tombs from the Cemetery of Zion, and brought Moslems as false witnesses to declare that the tombs belonged to the Syrians.

The exact place which they seized from us is between the Zion Monastery (the Mosque) and the Old Olive Tree.

not sufficing, he still continued to threaten and annoy them, until they finally escaped to the mountains of the Lebanon.

This tyrannous, Christian-hating Pasha, beheaded an Orthodox pilgrim on a charge of espionage. He also imprisoned the Superior of Ramleh. This caused all the Orthodox Notables of Gaza, Jaffa and Ramleh to move, together with their wives and children, to other districts and provinces.

1824

God's tardy justice visited 'Abdallah Pasha. In 1824, falling into the displeasure of the Sultan, he was besieged and had to fight for nine months against three Pashas, Darwish Pasha of Damascus, Ragheb Pasha of Tripoli and Mustafa Pasha of Aleppo. However, on the intercession of Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, he was excused by the Sultan on payment of a large sum of money, and soon afterwards he was reinstated in his office.

During this year, Jerusalem and the whole of Judea suffered greatly for, by royal order, Derwish Pasha of Damascus was transferred and he was succeeded by Mustafa Pasha of Aleppo. The new *Wāli* demanded the payment of greater tithes and presents from the fellahs and from us. There was great unrest and most of the fellahs revolted. Unable to molest the Moslem fellahs, he persecuted the Christian fellahs of the villages all the more, demanding as much as ten times the usual tithes from them. When the Brethren had not even as much as their daily bread, they were obliged to pay not only the double of the yearly tax of 60,000 piastres, but also the heavy tithes of the *Ebedi*, who never paid a coin to a Pasha.

The notorious Suleiman Effendi, of Hebrew origin, lost his office as *Mutesellim* of Jerusalem, when the Pasha was transferred, and a good man succeeded him. The accursed Musa Bey, however, remained as *Tufekgi-Bāshi*, and found means whereby he and the insatiable notables of Jerusalem could pocket a great portion of the Government tithes, paid by the Christians of Jerusalem and the fellahs. The *Ebedi* ought to have paid 9,000 piastres, but they refused to pay. Whereupon some of them were imprisoned. Their relatives and neighbours ran to the Brotherhood as usual, to petition their release from prison. But this was absolutely impossible without

the payment of the 9,000 piastres, which money we did not possess. Twelve days later, the *Ebedi* went to the Monastery of St. Saba, and again making a hole in the wall, entered.

Again the Brethren borrowed money at a high rate of interest and paid to Mousa Bey the 9,000 piastres, as well as what is called in Arabic "*Hat il zenzir*".

During the year we endured many other sufferings, which, for the sake of brevity, I omit.

1825

Mustafa Pasha, seeing that the fellahs would pay only the usual tithes, and that they objected to paying even these, tried to force them. He sent 100 soldiers to guard the citadel in Jerusalem, because there were only about 60 men there. He then sent a letter to the *Mutesellim* to double the tithes of the fellahs.

The order was obeyed and the fellahs immediately revolted, expelling the *Mutesellim*'s men from the villages. News of this was sent by the *Mutesellim* to the Pasha, who straightway collected an army of 5,000 men and set out from Damascus coming to Nablus in Samaria, where he remained for twenty days collecting the tithes decided upon. The fellahs of Judea, hearing of the force and the anger of the Pasha, were in a quandary as to what should be done. Some decided to surrender and pay what was demanded, others decided to fight, others still decided to flee. Those who were living in the villages around Jerusalem, such as the people of Silwān and the Wādy¹ east of Jerusalem, of Mālha, ‘Ain Kārem and Walajeh to the west, of Beit Hanania and Beitīn to the north, of Sūr Bāhir and Beit Safāfa and others, together with those of Beit-Allah or Beit-Jala² took their wives and children, their cattle and movable goods and fled to places difficult of access. The people of Bethlehem, having as allies the Thamarites³ and the Lahamites⁴ and fugitives from other villages, fortified the three

¹ The *Wadyites* are those living beyond the valley of Josaphat (from Siloam to the monastery of St. Saba). *Wady* (Ar.) "valley".

² The present village of Beit-Jala was formerly called Beit-Allah or House of God.

³ Thamarites (Ar.) *Ta‘amari*.

⁴ The camp was outside Jerusalem, to the north side, for there was a law that they should not sleep inside Jerusalem, not even the Pasha, who entered on Fridays only, to worship in the *Haram-esh-Sherif* and then returned to his tent which was pitched beside the large terebinth tree near the northern wall.

monasteries of the Greeks, the Franks and the Armenians and decided to fight. But they could not escape their destined fate, and we had to suffer with them. The people of Malha took refuge in the monastery of the Holy Cross, bringing with them all their movable property, wheat, barley, cheese, oil and butter, clothes, coverlets and mattresses, hiding in them the customary silver bracelets and head-gear of the women. Those of the villages about the monastery of St. Elias, as Sūr Bāhir, Beit-Safāfa, and Beitjāla and some from Bethlehem brought their goods to that monastery and hid them there. The *Ebedi* hid their small possessions in the monastery of St. Saba.

When the Pasha arrived in Jerusalem at the end of February, and the fellahs of the above mentioned villages failed to come to pay their respects to him, on being informed of their flight, he ordered his soldiers to seize and destroy their villages. But when they went they found nothing but empty houses and huts. Unfortunately, some of the *Turks* of Jerusalem had seen the people of Beitjāla, carrying their goods to the monastery of St. Elias, and betrayed them to Musa Bey, who, in order to show that he was fulfilling the duties of his office and to please the Pasha, reported the matter.

Immediately the Pasha sent soldiers who plundered the monastery, taking away the wheat, barley, butter and clothes of the fellahs and the Brethren. They seized the superior, Flavianos, brought him bound to the camp and stood him before the Pasha, who addressed him thus: "You traitor (*bre khyanet*)! Why did you not come and report to me that the rebellious fellahs had brought their belongings to hide them in your monastery? You are an accomplice of those conspirators and traitors, and you deserve the gallows."

Whereupon he gave orders to hang him. As the executioners were about to carry him off, the Pasha called them back and offered Flavianos his life if he would divulge the hiding place of the "whites" (money) of the fellahs. He denied that he had ever seen any. The infuriated Pasha then ordered the soldiers to put him into the stocks, and beat him 500 strokes on the feet. They pulled him out half dead and again questioned him, but Flavianos, being faint and unable to speak, was ordered to be bound in chains and thrown with other criminals into a roofless building, despite the fact that the weather was cold and rainy.

Many charges were brought against them and they had to pay a fine (*jereme*). They were fined for failing to blacken their fezes or shoes, or because of something they had said. They were forced to work continuously moving cannons from place to place and clearing the moats and trenches. Many other things happened which we do not wish to relate.

On May 27 came the bitter news which quickly spread throughout Jerusalem, that on Easter Sunday, April 10, all the Archbishops and the Patriarchs, Gregory of Constantinople and Polycarpus of Jerusalem, had been hanged in Constantinople. This was a source of great grief and sorrow to us, but of great joy and happiness to our enemies. About two weeks later we were assured that Polycarpus, by the mercy of God, was still alive. At this news the Turkish populace grew rabid against the Christians. The notables were growing audacious and found excuse and pretexts for wringing large sums of money from us. It was our bad luck, if I may say so, that the *Mutesellim* of Jerusalem was a very bad Moslem of Jewish extraction, by name Suleiman Effendi.¹ He was a villain of foul mind who found an advisor, a collaborator and a partner in a man called Musa Bey of Gaza, who was a *Tufekgi Bashi*.² Nobody dare relate the wicked deeds done by these two accused against us, the Community of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Christians of Jerusalem, in order to extort money. For want of time to write everything in detail, I write the following only in order that you may know their wickedness, as you would know a garment from its hem. This infamous Musa Bey seized a Christian porter and threatened to hang him if he refused to do what he was told. He then ordered him to declare to the judge in the Law Courts that one night the monks hired him to carry twelve barrels of explosives and as many barrels of lead. Fearing death the porter promised to make this statement. On going to the court Musa Bey declared before the judge and the rest of the bench that the Greeks (*Romei*) had in their monasteries powder magazines, guns etc., and he called the porter as a witness. But, by the providence of God, the judge guessed the slander and asked

the porter in Turkish how many barrels of explosives he had transported. The Porter, terrified at the Judge, forgot the correct number and gave the number as fifty two (*elliki*) instead of twelve (*oniki*). Again the Judge asked him how many barrels, and he replied twenty two (*ghirmiki*). The judge, thereupon, sent him away saying to those who were seated by him: "Yilan soyler, istirader." ("He lies, it is slander"). Then he warned the *Tufekgi Bashi* and the rest not to try such a thing again, nor to spread stories to excite the Moslem populace against the *Rayahs*, for such things might cause great trouble and loss to the Government.

The above happened on June 12. On the 29th of the same month, fatal and destructive orders came from the Sultan. He commanded that all the Moslems should be called upon to garrison the cities, and more especially he gave orders that if traitors were found, they should execute them at their own discretion. These orders were quickly rumoured about the city, but with quite a different interpretation. Mob leaders and dishonest people, desiring only to seize the property of the Christians, declared that orders had come from the Sultan to massacre all the Greeks (*Romei*). They held council and began to divide the spoils amongst themselves. One declared that he wished to kill so and so, another that he wished to have the wife of so and so, or his daughter or his son. Regarding the treasures in the Holy Sepulchre, they spent a long time discussing to whom they should go.

On hearing this, we, in misery and terror, with trembling lips, begged God to succour us. At last, at a meeting of the Synod, consisting of the Locum Tenens of the Patriarch, the Archbishops and Members, it was decided to fill the mouth of all those who held power in Jerusalem, as well as all those who could bite (do any mischief). That we proceeded to do. Meanwhile the doublefaced Turks of Jerusalem and all the vagabonds began to cause trouble and shout that the Sultan had ordered that all the *Romei* should be killed. Their leaders, the Notables and others, on receiving money and many other things, kept them in check. But they would have their prey, so they clamoured for the Sultan's orders to be read in front of them that their own ears might hear. Two days previous to this the Notables had received instructions from Darwish Pasha, Governor of Damascus, concerning the *Rayahs*,

¹ *Mutesellim*: Local governor of a town (EDITOR).

² *Tufekgi-Bashi*: Chief Armourer (EDITOR).

Dashing through the streets, they killed every man on whom they found any of their belongings.

The rebels saw the soldiers suddenly charging them, but being loaded with the loot, they were unable to repel them, so throwing away everything, they tried to escape. Some of them hid in the houses, others jumped out from the city walls, but the majority of them rushed to open the Damascus Gate and got away from there. The soldiers pursued them and there was horrible carnage: Damascus Gate was blocked up with heaps of corpses. The fellahs and the citizens disappeared before the soldiers and none of them were anywhere to be seen.

The soldiers then occupied the Gates and walls of the city, and placed a guard on the battlements. They began to carry back to the citadel what the rebels had taken and thrown on the streets when running away. Some of the soldiers, for reprisal against the citizens who were found stealing with the fellahs, began to destroy the shops and take whatever they found therein, until it was reported to the *Bimbashi* who put a stop to it.

The casualties that day were 50 fellahs, 16 citizens and 5 soldiers. This only enraged the fellahs all the more, and the next day, they kept up a fire like hailstones on the city. The same day, the *Bimbashi* and the *Miralais*, now certain that the citizens were in league with the fellahs, called the elders of the city, Omar Effendi, the *Bashkatiib*, the *Mufti* and the rest, to the Law Courts and said to them: "You are in league with the fellahs against the Pasha." They replied: "A few of the more undisciplined youths joined the fellahs, and others joined them in order to save their houses and shops from being looted by the fellahs." To such nonsense he replied:

"I do not believe you. But if you really are on the side of the Pasha give me a pledge of your fidelity, otherwise come and join us in the citadel."

He took Omar Effendi (formerly the *Naqib*),¹ the *Bashkatiib* and some of the leading citizens with him to the citadel, and ordered the soldiers to guard them.

¹ The official in charge of the Register of the descendants of Mohammed in a town.

About 5 o'clock on the same day, 2,000 men arrived from Nablus to join the rebels, whom the *Bimbashi* welcomed with a few rounds from the cannons but killed only two, the rest withdrawing out of range. Then guided by the people of Jerusalem, they hid themselves in places secure from the cannons, the *Bimbashi* seeing that it was impossible for him to fight inside and outside, for he suspected the citizens and he knew that they favoured the fellahs, decided to abandon altogether the walls to the citizens and see to the defence of the citadel. He collected all his men to the citadel and fortified it. He sent a herald through the streets to proclaim that all the citizens of Jerusalem, Moslems, Christians and Jews, should hurry to defend the walls.

The people of Jerusalem hurried and broke the locks of the Damascus Gate and opened it. Thousands of fellahs rushed in and captured the city surrounding the citadel, on which they opened a rapid fire. Then young and old fell to looting, beginning with the houses of the *Miralais*, when they removed the heavy articles which had been left behind, such as pillows, blankets and wooden tables. Then they looted the Jewish houses in the same way. The following night, the fellahs with some low-class bandits of Jerusalem, began to loot the shops of the Jews, the Christians, the Franks and then the Moslems. The grocers, the shoemakers and every other dealer suffered alike. Within two or three days there was not one shop intact in the market, for they smashed the locks and the doors and seized everything of value.

Many of the Jerusalem Moslems had had time to remove from their shops everything of value, and left behind only useless things. Now they declared that the soldiers had taken the valuable things, and they showed themselves as having a good cause of hatred against the army. The market was a miserable and pitiable sight. It looked as if it had been deserted for five years. Scattered here and there, were victuals, gewgaws, old cushions and mattresses, which they tore open in the hope of finding money in them. In many places they dug up the shops suspecting that the owners might have hidden the "whites"¹ or anything else. The citizens protested against this, but nobody listened to them, because they were few in number, compared to the fellahs. Everybody came

¹ Silver money

The people of Jerusalem, being now their own masters, became very independent; all of them acted as notables and chiefs. Later, however, the wiser men met, and appointed as leaders two of the most powerful Notables. The first was Yousef 'Arab Djebedjeb Achi¹ of Mt. Zion, and the second, Ahmed Agha Duzdar. The people of Bethlehem, the *Ebedi*, the inhabitants of the other villages about Jerusalem, and even the Christians were freed from most of the tithes. The Brotherhood breathed a little more freely. Though they were still required to pay money, it was not the huge and extravagant sum of former days. We could not, however, escape the payment of the usual 60,000 piastres, because the *Waly* of Damascus asked for it secretly, and we gave him a bill for it to his Beatitude, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in Constantinople, who had to borrow from the Brotherhood, as he had received no money from the pilgrims who were unable to travel owing to the bad conditions, nor did he receive the yearly income of the monasteries of Walachia and Moldavia after the revolution.

The good people of Jerusalem, having succeeded in the rebellion, tried to conceal their guilt and secure the freedom they so fondly loved. They wrote to Mehemet Ali Pasha in Egypt and to 'Abdallah Pasha and to the Councillors of the Sultan giving an explanation of their actions. But they did not enjoy their freedom for long, for each one did as he wished and anarchy prevailed. The Sultan Mahmud, on being informed of all this wrote to the people of Jerusalem to surrender to, and obey, as formerly, the *Waly* of Damascus. They would not listen, until his ire was aroused and he used force even against the citizens of the Holy and Noble Jerusalem (*Kuds-es-Sherif*). Before we begin that part of the story the following is worth hearing.²

In October of 1826, the Sultan Mahmud was very busy with the massacre of the Janissaries, and being informed of the villainous actions of the Moslems of Jerusalem, he wrote a strongly worded letter to 'Abdallah Pasha ordering him to take his army to Jerusalem and subdue the traitors. The Pasha collected two thousand men

¹ *Achi* = a member of the Bektashi Derwish order.

² At the end of this year the Russian Emperor Alexander died and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas, the Victorious, on December 26th, 1825 A.D.

only and sent them off with his *Kyahya*. They took with them seven cannon, one a long range gun (*khavani koumbara*).

The *Kyahya* stopped at Ramleh and entered into correspondence with the Abu Ghosh, who gave their word that they would grant free transit on receiving certain gifts. The *Kyahya* thus drew off the Abu Ghosh people from an alliance with Jerusalem and with the fellahs. Whereupon he set out from Ramleh, passed the territory of the Abu Ghosh people and their gorges, and arriving at Jerusalem, he encamped opposite the citadel near the Church of St. George. Before his arrival, the Jerusalemites had engaged some Christians and Jews to block up the gates of the city with stones. It was evident that they had decided upon a strong opposition. When the *Kyahya* saw this, he at first wrote to them in a peaceful and friendly manner, asking them to accept a few soldiers at the Citadel as a sign of subjection to the Sultan, and he promised to allow them to administer their own affairs. He also sent to them the admonitory letters of 'Abdallah Pasha, which contained the same offer. But when those brave men of Jerusalem read his letters, they showed no inclination to surrender. They answered that they had repeatedly sworn never again to receive back into the town a foreigner or a stranger (i.e. an Ottoman or an Albanian) and for that reason they were ready to die as free men rather than accept the yoke of the stranger, be he Moslem or otherwise. The *Kyahya* again wrote to them pointing out what disastrous results would follow their disobedience, the grim effects of war. Their answer was the same, with some additions. He waited two days, and having no alternative, he ordered the cannon to open fire. They fired intermittently, at first in the air, but then at the citadel. He thought that the defenders would lose courage, but such was not the case, for they manned the cannon in the citadel and returned the fire. They could not, however, touch the encampment, as it was placed somewhat behind the hill. The walls of the citadel were strong and easily resisted the balls of 'Abdallah's cannon, which were small. For seven days, cannon-balls fell continuously, but they were ineffective, firstly because the stone buildings of the citadel had arched roofs (*hiayghir*) and secondly, they were covered with wood, reeds and earth. The *Kyahya* reported to 'Abdallah Pasha, who was enraged and immediately dispatched a large

khāvāni, which could take a *kumpara* ball of forty *okka*. A cannon was placed on the Mt. of Olives to fire on the citadel. The distance being too great, it was useless, so they left off firing at the citadel, and opened fire on the houses of the Notables.

Then came a split in the ranks of the Moslems of the city, and they divided into two parties. They were not used to a siege, and, as it came on a sudden, the poor were in difficult straits, being unable to obtain food, which came from outside the city.

The balls and the bullets terrified the women and children. Many of them began to murmur and curse the notables and those in the citadel. There was a riot and word was passed round that it was best to surrender. This was proposed to those in the citadel who at first did not want to agree, because they were the first to revolt and feared that they would suffer the death penalty for it. It was generally agreed that they should first test the offers of the *Kyahya*. They, therefore, opened David's Gate, and some of the elders proceeded to the camp where they were received with every welcome and with great joy. In one word the *Kyahya* promised, on oath, an amnesty which nobody should fear. It was further agreed upon that for the future they and the fellahs should pay the amount fixed of old and nothing extra; that the troops of the citadel should not interfere at all in politics or in other matters. Lastly they swore an oath for assurance and then recited the "*Fatiha*", as is usual for the Arab Moslems. The elders being content, they returned to relate to the others the terms of the surrender. All agreed to the conditions. Those who were in the citadel were suspicious, and did not want to come out, but, persuaded by the rest of people, they agreed to leave on condition that they be allowed to take away to their houses their property which was in the citadel. For this they demanded three days. It was granted.

When taking away their belongings, they removed the food stores which were there, such as corn etc. and also a part of the war-materials, as gun-powder and lead, which they hid in the cellars of the houses: the leaders took their most valuable things into the convents and hid them there for safety.

Three days later the two Notables Yousef Djebajab *Achi* and Mohammed Duzdar went to the *Kyahya* and, prostrating themselves, presented the keys of the citadel. At the same hour 300

soldiers were sent to occupy it. Yusef and Mohammed were sent to 'Abdallah Pasha, as the latter had ordered. When they went there, they suffered no ill, but were ordered not to return to Jerusalem. The former was to live at Ramleh and the latter at Nablus in Samaria. They agreed. 'Abdallah Pasha took possession of Jerusalem and appointed a temporary *Mutesellim*, and then wrote to the *Waly* of Damascus to send a *Mutesellim* and soldiers to occupy Jerusalem as in former days. Such were the orders of the Sultan to 'Abdallah Pasha, namely, that he was to reduce Jerusalem at all costs and then hand it over to the *Waly* of Damascus, who as the Emir El Hadj, was occupied with the annual pilgrimage.

On the 20th of December of the same year, there arrived from Damascus an army and a *Mutesellim* from the new *Waly* (Mustafa Pasha of ill-omen had been dismissed in the meantime) and the troops of 'Abdallah Pasha departed.

Having conferred with the Fathers of the Brotherhood who were with him and other favourable Christians, he reported the whole matter to the Ecumenical Church. A full meeting of the Synod was held, and the following decided: (A) Circulars should be sent to the faithful everywhere, that every one might give in accordance with his means, and that delegates should be sent to collect the alms.¹ (B) Plenipotentiary delegates should be sent to Walachia and Moldavia to secure the revenue of the monasteries, the property of the Brotherhood, most of which had been seized by sacrilegious persons. (C) To ask for a royal decree against the payment of such heavy interest, and a ten years' plan for the payment of the debt in view of the money to be received from alms boxes. (D) Delegates should be sent to Jerusalem to examine the amount and kind of the debt. (E) Representatives to be appointed from the nation to act as Counsellors to His Beatitude. (F) The creation of a treasury for the collections and other moneys.²

¹ The delegate to Walachia and Moldavia was Caesar, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. He died there in 1832, and Agathangelos was consecrated in his place.

² A long note in the text, relating to the payment of debts of more than 15 million piastres and to the Brotherhood's subsequent financial recovery, has been omitted here. EDITOR.

1831

With all these decisions coming into force, Providence also helped, and even the crooked affairs of Jerusalem were put in order and every obstacle and difficulty was removed. As 'Abdallâh Pasha did wrong and persecuted the Orthodox, so did God grant that he also should be punished, and receive the wages of his sin; and that it should be measured out to him in the same measure as he had measured to the faithful. Impelled by his innate arrogance, he quarrelled with and flouted the viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali Pasha. The latter, wishing to take revenge and humble him, sent against him Ibrahim Pasha with a large army, which had recently returned from the Morea. By the middle of December his territory was invaded by land and sea.

Meeting with no resistance, Ibrahim took Gaza, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Samaria and all Galilee, without shedding a drop of blood. Laying siege to Ptolemais by land and sea he cannonaded the walls of the town and the *Sarai* of 'Abdallah night and day. 'Abdallah, relying on the promises of the Sultan, resisted bravely and manfully, and much against any hope of success, carried on the fight. He was besieged for six months, most of his troops were lost, the walls of the town and the houses were destroyed, his palaces were in ruins, and he himself deceived in the hope of getting help from the Sultan. He fell into despair and tried to set fire to the powder magazine and blow himself up. Those about him anticipated his intention and persuaded him to throw himself on the mercy of Ibrahim Pasha. This he did on May 14th, 1833. He was well received by Ibrahim Pasha, who discussed with him the question of the treasure collected by Jezzar Pasha and his successor. Then he was sent under guard to Mehemet Ali in Egypt, and was ordered to remain there under observation. The conquest of Ptolemais¹ was celebrated in Jerusalem with illuminations, dancing, and music, in every street and place of the city. For five days the people of Jerusalem, Moslems, Greeks, Franks, Armenians, and even Jews, made merry. All were happy and delighted at the thought that

¹ Ibrahim Pasha is said to have fired 70,000 cannon balls and grenades against Ptolemais, and lost over 20,000 men during the siege.

Egyptian entry meant freedom (as it really did.) The Moslems alone could not hide their sorrow and sullenness (although they danced with the rest), because they had a presentiment that Egypt would use its power against them. They felt that they could not continue to act as they wished, and that hereafter Jerusalem and all Palestine would be reformed. They heard and saw things which they hated to hear and see, namely regular soldiers wearing tight trousers and carrying terrible fire-arms and musical instruments, and marching in formation after the European fashion.

Ibrahim Pasha, leaving a garrison in Ptolemais, hurried on to Damascus which surrendered on June 3rd. Thence he went quickly to Aleppo which capitulated on July 4th...

Omitting other happenings in Arabia we return to the affairs of the Brotherhood.

The year 1832 had a small rainfall. Corn was therefore very scarce and dear, costing from the beginning of 1833 to the summer of the same year, 130 piastres per *kantar*, which equals 45 *okkas*.

Those who had no money and corn, the poor, alone suffered. This was true of the Brotherhood, who used to help the poor by giving them bread. The monastery of St. Saba suffered because it needed bread every day for 185 mouths, that being the number of the males amongst the *Ebedi*,¹ as from the beginning females were not allowed to take bread. I was the Superior as I have already told you, and once I was struck with a dagger by one who came to demand bread without right. This was the last year that we suffered from these people, for after the conquest of Ibrahim Pasha the Monastery was freed of them. Of this, we will speak later.

¹ It is said that the *Ebedi* were formerly Christians from *Lazistan*. There they had been condemned to death, when our father St. Saba went to Constantinople. He interceded with the Emperor Justinian and delivered them from death. The Emperor gave them as a present to the Monastery of St. Saba, and ordered them to stay there with their families and be slaves and watchmen for the Monastery. They became Moslems many years ago.

THE OPENING OF THE WHOLE DOOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE BY THE ARMENIANS, AND THE ABOLISHING
OF THE PAYMENT OF THE *KHAFAR*. (JANUARY 1834).

Glory be to Jesus Christ, Our Lord, who granted that in our days should come the dawn of freedom. After the great victory of Russia over Turkey at Adrianople and in Asia, a Russian officer, named James, came to worship at the Holy Places. At the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he saw the dishonesty practised upon, and the contempt shown to the Orthodox as well as to the heretical Christians, and that even on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Very much grieved at the sight, he left for Egypt to see Mehemet Ali Pasha, to whom he narrated the state of affairs and complained of the injustice and the wrong done to those who wished to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, who were obliged to pay *Khafar* (entrance fee) and *bakshish*. He reminded him that if Russia, which was a Christian country, were aware of it, it certainly would not be allowed to continue. Mehemet Ali Pasha, being a prudent man, quickly saw the point and wrote a *buyurdu* ordering the abolition of the *Khafar*, which in the future was to be collected neither by the *Mutewelli* (Inspector) nor by the keeper of the key, nor by the Door-keeper of the Church: also that for the future both sides of the church door should be opened so that people might freely go in and out. The Pasha handed this decree to the Armenian Boghos Bey.

He sent it to the Armenians in Jerusalemi, who presented it to the Governors. They abolished the *Khafar*, and even the usual coin paid at the tomb, and pilgrims of every nation entered without hindrance.

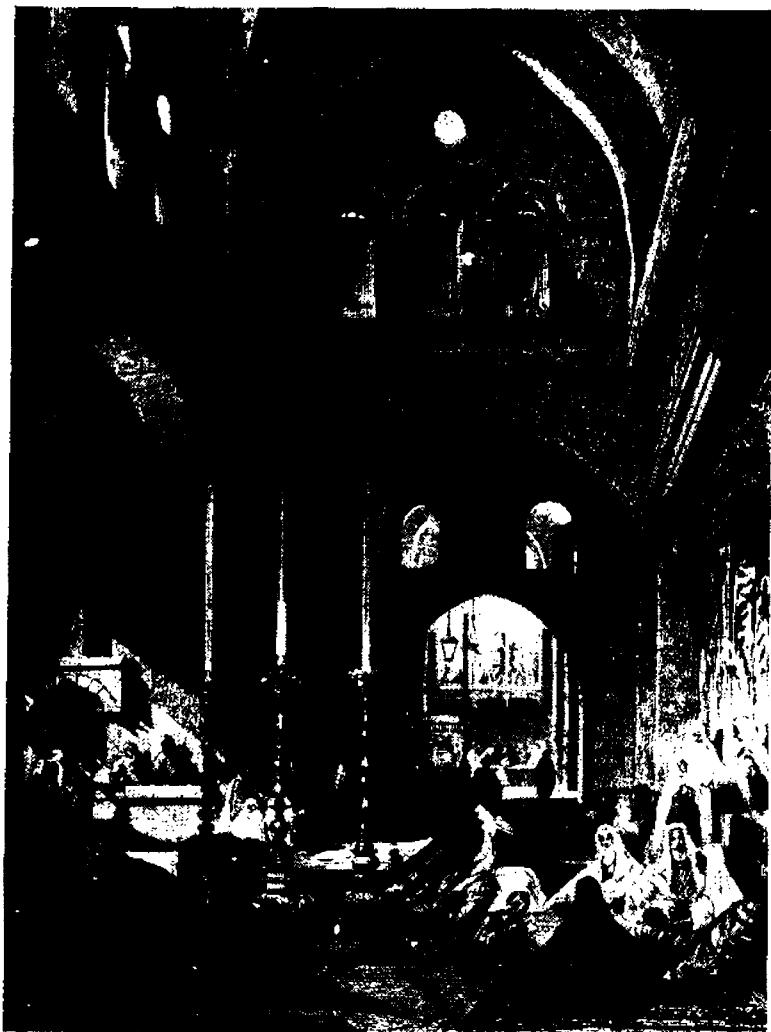
On January 13th, 1834, the Armenians made a solemn entry and opened both sides of the door. Since that time the Armenians and the Franks and we have opened the whole door.

THE ARRIVAL OF IBRAHIM PASHA IN JERUSALEM.
(APRIL 12th-14th, 1834)

On April 12th, Ibrahim Pasha arrived in Jerusalem with great show and pomp. The representatives of the different nations went out to meet him. From the citadel came the terrible roar of the cannon, for it possessed 33 of them. He did not enter Jerusalem,



The Gate of the Citadel, Jerusalem 1830



The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 1836

and he did not camp in the place where the Pashas usually camped, beneath the terebinth tree on the north side of the city, but he went straight to Mount Zion where his father Mchemet Ali Pasha had built a *khan* or inn. Some days before they had made this *khan* ready to receive him. The next day, being Friday, he entered Jerusalem through Mount Zion Gate (in Arabic *Bab-el-Nebi Daūd*, in Turkish *Daut Kapisi*) and walked down to the Haram-esh-Sherif. Having finished his prayer, he returned to the *Khan* without visiting anyone of the Moslem houses, to which he was heartily invited. As he entered and left the Mosque there was a great demonstration by the people, and the cannon in the fortress were fired in salute. In the afternoon there went to salute him first the Franks, as is the custom, and then ourselves with the Armenians. Neither nation spoke a word to him of the recent fight. The next day was Saturday, that before Palm Sunday. At about the eighth hour, when all the different nations were singing the Office, Ibrahim Pasha unexpectedly entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre out of curiosity, accompanied by five or six soldiers, the *Musti*, the *Bashkatib* and the *Mutewelli*. He first visited the Tomb, and asked about the candles and sacred images which were in it. Then he went to the Catholicon with great joy, as it seemed, and there he stood amazed at the decorations and listened to the psalms. He entered the chancel and passed through to Calvary. He walked all around the church and went up to the place of the Armenians to hear the wooden planks that were used as bells. Finally leaving the church he said to those who accompanied him: "A great and wonderful thing is this church of the Christians."

CONCERNING THE ARMENIANS AND GREEKS WHO WERE INJURED
AND KILLED IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.
(APRIL 21st, 1834)

Since the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks until this year 1834, God knows that the Orthodox pilgrims who came at Easter were never more than 3,000. It was only the Armenians, (and they only from 1825 till 1834), who could count more than 4,000 pilgrims.

In the year 1834¹ on Holy Saturday, there were at the Holy

¹ In this year the Coptic Patriarch came to Jerusalem accompanied by one of his bishops. His name was Antonius.

Sepulchre 4,500 Orthodox pilgrims. Besides these, there were Orthodox Arabs from Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Beirut, Tripoli; and from the Lebanon, Catholics and Maronites, all together numbering nearly 2,000. From Jerusalem itself and from neighbouring villages, there were 2,000 Orthodox. The Armenians, Copts and Syrians numbered 6,000. At the function of the Holy Fire, there were present at the Holy Sepulchre 15,000 people of all nations, including the Turkish Police and Officers, the *Kawasses* and other persons attached to the Pasha, for Ibrahim Pasha was himself inside the church with 300 soldiers. The place was exceedingly overcrowded, and over 500 Armenians and Arabs had to remain outside the Church. As soon as the Holy Fire appeared, those who were inside fainted from the heat of the place. The people inside rushed to go out and those outside tried to enter the church that they also might light their candles in the Holy Fire. In the rush, those who had fainted were trampled to death, because they had no opportunity to arise from the ground. Others, in an attempt to escape, tripped over the dead bodies and lay on the ground, too. The Pasha's men made an attempt to stop the rush, and so save the people on the ground. They used the butts of their rifles and struck the people on the heads. But it was all of no avail, for the crowd in front were pushed on by those in the rear, who knew nothing of what was happening in front. Many had been trampled to death when word reached the Pasha who was sitting in the gallery of the Franks, and who all this time was looking down into the church and never noticed what was happening at the door. Now he rushed down to get to the door. He failed to break through the crowd with his men, for the crowd was welded into one body, and being stout, he fainted from the heat and the rush. He had the appearance of death, and his men, fearing for his life, took him by the legs and hands, and walking on the shoulders and heads of the people and with a great effort they finally brought him, half dead, to the courtyard outside.

When the regular soldiers and the police saw the Pasha in this state, as well as several of their friends who were being trodden upon, they were enraged and charged the people with bayonets. God was good to the people, and the Pasha, quickly recovering, ordered the soldiers to desist. Then, taking water, he went to the

assistance of the wounded and ordered the soldiers to open a way through the crowd, to withstand the crush from inside as well as outside, until the dead, who where lying in heaps in the Church, like bundles of skins, should be taken out. Twenty-seven of our pilgrims (Greeks) were killed; three from Jerusalem; thirteen from Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo, and Tripoli and from other parts; all together, men, women and children, the dead numbered forty-three. These were carried to the Church of St. James. Among the Armenians there were over one hundred deaths because they, being near the door, were the first to meet the rush. The wounded and crushed among the Greeks and Armenians were over three hundred, but these, with the help of water and vinegar, were saved from death. We kept our dead until evening, hoping that some of them might yet be restored to life, and then obtaining permission from the Pasha, we buried them on Mount Zion. The Armenians buried some of theirs on that day, and the rest they buried on the following day, Easter Sunday. All nations were in grief and on all sides wailings and lamentation were heard. The Pasha, as the Prophets say, was turned to mourning and the customary joy to great sorrow; God knows for whose sins, but of a certainty for ours.

We Orthodox carried out the usual Easter Service, at which many pilgrims and natives were present. The Armenians did not come at all to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to celebrate the Easter. Some remained to mourn their dead, and others went, with grief, to celebrate in their Convent. Next day, many of the Armenians and some of our pilgrims as well, left for home. Most of them went on the third day after Easter to Jaffa, where, as there were many ships, they quickly embarked. By the second Sunday after Easter all the pilgrims had departed from Jaffa, despite the thousands of Greeks and Armenians who wished to travel.

INSURRECTION OF THE MOSLEMS OF JERUSALEM, JUDAEA, SAMARIA AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS (APRIL 28th, 1834).

In those days there was a great uprising in all Arabia, and in all the villages around Jerusalem, in Judaea and Samaria for the people revolted against Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian overlord.

These were the causes of rebellion. On the 4th day of

Diakainesimos (Easter Wednesday) April 25th, Ibrahim Pasha convoked all the leading men and notables of the districts of Samaria and Judaea and put to them the following questions: "As we, Moslems, have as perpetual enemies the Nazarene nations, is it or is it not necessary for us to have a big standing army?" They replied: "Yes, undoubtedly it is necessary."

The Pasha continued: "If so, from whom shall we take men for this army, from the Christians or from the Moslems?"

They replied: "From the Moslems, assuredly."

He said: "You have answered rightly. Therefore it is necessary for you, if you are true Moslems and wish the welfare of the nation, to send in your young men from every city and from every village, so that they may learn from their youth the art of war and be trained in it, and so be ready in case of need."

Silence fell upon the meeting and for long they thought of the reply: "Your order be upon our heads, but there is no need for us to give our boys and young men for war. When the enemy of our religion enters our country, all of us young and old, will go out and fight and willingly shed our blood for our faith and our fatherland."

The Pasha replied: "How do you expect to wage war if you know not the art thereof?"

They replied: "This art of war, known to our grandfathers, who withheld the enemy and defended their country until now, is also known to us, and as they once did, so we also hope to do in the future."

The Pasha replied: "War is not the place for a herd of useless men: technique and skill are required. This is my decision. One young man shall be taken from every five Moslems, who shall be trained in the regular tactics of war. This order I want carried out without delay, beginning here in Jerusalem."

Briefly, the idea of the Pasha was to get 3,000 young men from the three districts, of Jerusalem, Judaea and Samaria, and a proportionate 200 from the city of Jerusalem.

All the Moslems of these districts were greatly disturbed and knew not what to do. Coming together, some of them decided to revolt, saying: "It is far better to die with our arms in our hands than to give our beloved children to everlasting slavery, without the hope of ever seeing them again."

On Easter Saturday, in the evening, a message was brought to the Pasha saying that in the village of Abu Dis near Bethany some people had died of plague.

THE DEPARTURE OF IBRAHIM PASHA FOR JAFFA AND THE SIEGE
OF JERUSALEM BY THE FELLAHEEN
(APRIL 28th-MAY 27th, 1834.)

The Pasha, fearing lest his army should be infected by the plague and because he felt the planning of a revolt, left for Jaffa on Sunday after Easter, for he had with him only a few soldiers. He gave out that it was his fear of the plague which caused him to depart. He left a thousand soldiers in Jerusalem to protect the city and the citadel. As soon as the Jerusalemites and the fellahen heard of the departure of the Pasha, they gathered together from all parts and held council secretly as to whether they should obey the order of the Pasha or revolt. Despite their party feuds, they unanimously decided to revolt.

On Wednesday, May 8th, they surrounded Jerusalem, and forbade the people to leave or enter the city. Soon, about ten thousand men from Samaria, Hebron, Judaea and Jerusalem had gathered to the ranks. On Thursday morning, they sent a message to the soldiers in the citadel and on the city walls that they should quit Jerusalem and go wherever they wished. The *Bimbashis* (Majors) and the *Miralais* (colonels) replied that they had no intention of leaving but would resist until death. The fellahen then began to fire on the city walls with their rifles and to attack the city, but they were easily repulsed by the regular soldiers within the city.

At the beginning, some of the Jerusalemites showed themselves on the side of the Pasha, others said they were indifferent, but secretly, all of them, as time proved, were on the side of the fellahen. The fellahen kept up a continual fire on the walls, night and day, so that the soldiers became tired of the long duty, and the officers decided to withdraw all the men to the citadel and leave the city walls to be defended by the citizens of Jerusalem. The *Bimbaishi* asked the notables of the city to come to him and he explained the situation to them. They replied that it was not a wise policy for them to fight against the fellahen

and they pleaded all kinds of excuses, but especially the lack of arms. The *Bimbashi* and his officers were quite aware of the fact that the Jerusalemites and the fellahs were in agreement on the question of the revolt, so he said to them:

"I want to know if you are on the side of the Pasha or with the fellahs."

They replied: "May it never come to pass that we should be on the side of the fellahs, we are the force of our Effendi, the Pasha etc."

The *Bimbashi* therefore said to them: "If you will be faithful to the Pasha, I will make you the promise that the Pasha will not seek one man from the city of Jerusalem for the army." They gave him so many promises and assurances that he went to the Court and wrote with his own hand promising that he would remain and defend Jerusalem to the end, and that he would not demand one man for the army. This he signed, and the *Mullah* was witness and surety.

The above took place on Saturday morning. The fellahs with the fugitives from Jerusalem kept up their attacks on the city and attempted to capture it. Then the *Bimbashi* and the *Miralais* brought into action the cannon on the citadel and on the walls, and quickly beat back the fellahs.

At six o'clock on Sunday morning, May 13th, there was an earthquake. It lasted but three seconds, but it was so violent that the dome of the Catholicon was cracked in seven places and all the plaster fell off.

The big dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was shaken, but being of wood and well bound together, it was not greatly damaged.¹ Many big houses in Jerusalem were cracked and many fell. Part of the city wall, near the Mosque of Omar, fell. A minaret fell in Jerusalem, and another one on the Mount of Olives, as did the dome of the Shrine of the Ascension. In Bethlehem the monasteries of the Franks and the Armenians and ours were greatly damaged, especially the belfry. By God's mercy the beautiful

¹ Three supports were broken near the base. The belfry and the arches were shaken. Many of the cisterns in Jerusalem were cracked and the water flowed out of them.

Church of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well as the new pilgrim-house, was not damaged.¹

The fellahs got frightened at the earthquake and stopped firing for the moment, but the next day they began again, and so did the cannon from inside. This continued until Saturday. Then the people of Silwan and the fugitives from Jerusalem remembered that there was an old sewer, now closed up for many years, leading into the city. They gathered near the Dung Gate² and with great difficulty they excavated and found the exit of the sewer which opens within the city at a mill in the Jewish quarter. On Sunday morning thirty-six daring young fellahs and some from Jerusalem, holding their swords in their hands, jumped up into the mill; thence they ran to the Dung Gate, and breaking the locks, they threw it open. The fugitives of Jerusalem and the fellahs poured into the city quickly without a word. The *Bimbashi*, being informed, quickly summoned, with drums and trumpets, all his soldiers who were on the walls and shutting the Gate of the citadel, they took up their position on the battlements beside the cannon and made ready for the attack. Then the people of Jerusalem, who said that they did not have any arms, appeared fully armed and joined the fellahs.

They did not rush to the attack of the citadel, but they went to break the doors of the big house, where the *Miralais* and the soldiers, who were appointed to watch the Gate and walls of the city, used to reside. As the rebels did not find any opposition at these houses they quickly looted them and carried off everything they could find. The Jerusalemites hid their stolen goods in their houses, but the fellahs hurried to carry them to their villages outside the city.

From the citadel the soldiers saw what was going on. They resented the loss of the property, so opening the gate of the citadel, about 500 of them rushed out with swords, rifles, and bayonets.

¹ The wall of the Church was cracked near where the Armenians celebrate. The tower of St. John Damascenus in the monastery of St. Saba was completely cracked.

² This is called in Arabic *Bāb-el Maghāribah*, the gate of Maugrebins, because many of these people lived there in olden times. It is also called the Dung Gate, because from there the rubbish of the city was thrown into the valley of Kedron.

On the Friday of *Diakainesimos* he departed for Damascus, leaving the *Mutesellim* with 100 soldiers or so in the citadel.

Since the accursed Pasha was unjust not only to us, but also to the Franks, Armenians, Jews, and even the Moslems of Jerusalem and the fellahs, he was hated by all alike. As soon as he departed, therefore, the people of Jerusalem joined the fellahs and decided to revolt again. The *Mutesellim* was unable to collect the tithes (which were in arrears in some villages), since the fellahs resisted immediately on the departure of the Pasha. The soldiers, who were left to guard Bethlehem, insulted the women and tyrannized the Christians, both Greek and Frank; some of the Moslems of Bethlehem joined with the *Taramira* in revolt, and a few of the soldiers were killed while others were expelled. All this the *Mutesellim* wrote to the Pasha, but because the latter was preparing to go on pilgrimage he replied that the *Mutesellim* should collect an army and attack and subdue the people of Bethlehem as best he could. The *Mutesellim* appointed as General none other than Musa Bey, and ordered the Moslem youth of Jerusalem to arm. Taking these and all the troops in Jerusalem, and leaving only eleven soldiers in the citadel, he set out with cannon and ammunition.

The people of Bethlehem and their allies blocked his way by fortifying *Beit-Safāfa* and other villages around the monastery of St. Elias.

After three days the people were forced to retreat before the artillery fire, and then the *Mutesellim* advanced, taking up a good position between Bethlehem and *Beitjala*.

By this time most of those in Jerusalem, who were soldiers or carried arms, were thinking of rebellion. Soon they had an opportunity of putting their ideas into action. On June 5th, some men were sent to bring gunpowder from the magazine in the citadel, where all of the ammunition was stored. About twenty other persons, on the pretext of taking ammunition, entered at the same time. They rushed the keeper, seized the keys of the magazine, and then fell on the other ten men, whom they disarmed, bound, and locked up in a room. Some of them rushed up to the Tower and shouted with joy, calling on the people to join in the revolt. They quickly armed others and placed a guard at the gate of the citadel. Some of the people, seeing their wish already a reality, ran

through the *Souks* of the city arousing the old and the young alike to a general arming, while others rushed to guard the gates of the city to prevent the soldiers of the *Mutesellim* from entering on their return.

The Moslems of Jerusalem were seen, fully armed, strutting about on the walls, offering fight to all and sundry, and firing their guns into the air at random. Those who gathered in the citadel, hoisted flags on the Tower, singing and shouting in triumph. They prepared the cannon to attack the *Mutesellim*, who, meanwhile, with his soldiers, had heard the unceasing noise of the guns at the citadel and on the walls of Jerusalem. Looking through his telescope, he saw the flags (*Sanjay* and *Bairaq*) on the Tower of the citadel, and believed that the Greeks had arrived to capture Jerusalem. Taking his artillery and soldiers together with those who enlisted from Jerusalem, he quietly returned. On approaching the city he was informed of the true state of affairs. Somewhat afraid, he marched straight to David's Gate, intending to enter the city. But to his sorrow, he and his soldiers heard the bitter word. With curse and blasphemy there was hurled from the walls at him, "Get back and begone." The poor *Mutesellim*, surprised at these unexpected events, and doubtful as to what he should do, humbly begged them to let him enter and take his property which was in the *Sarai*. Nobody listened to him, nor to those who were with him.

Having no place to go, he turned to Abu-Ghōsh¹ who gave their word of honour that he could pass without fear to Ramleh where 'Abdallah Pasha commanded. Leaving the two cannons with the Abu Ghōsh he proceeded to Ramleh with his men and was received by the *Mutesellim* of the place. The Jerusalemites had not only refused the *Mutesellim* entrance but also had bound and cast into prison the guards of the citadel and the *Sarai*. Every Ottoman and Albanian Moslem, on being disarmed, was sent away from Jerusalem, including even Hussein Bey Kavallali, who had lived for twelve years there.

¹ The *Awāl Abu Ghōsh*, i. e. the sons of Abu Ghōsh (which means fighter or turbulent) had the privilege from the time of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent until 1834 of guarding the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, and they were *Terbenithes* or *Terben Aghas* to guard the road against robbers. They lived in the village of Einmaus (Qubeibe in Arabic) and received ninety paras as *ghafar* pro foreigner, of every religion and nationality. This was abolished by Mehemet Ali Pasha in 1834. *Terben Agha* corresponds to a feudal lord [EDITOR].

the right hands of all the old men who were captured fighting, saying: "Let them now learn how to fight their lords with their left hands."

The fellahs, realizing that the end of the war would be their complete annihilation, decided to throw themselves on the mercy of the Pasha. Therefore, as is the custom of the Arabs, most of them sent their sheiks and their notables to the Pasha, all wearing handkerchiefs around their necks as denoting guilt and servile submission. The Pasha received them and pardoned them for their part in the revolution, on condition that they should pay the expenses of the war and give men for military service. To these conditions they agreed, and swore themselves his obedient slaves.

Sheik Qāsem was in the village of Beitouza¹ when informed of the surrender of the fellahs, and knowing that all was lost, preferred to take flight. Therefore he took his whole family with his sons, Sheik Mahmūd and Sheik Yūsef with their families, and all his property, to deliver himself with 500 horsemen into the hands of Sheik Bender, the lord of Kerak. On July 1st he crossed the Jordan. Ibrahim Pasha sent 1,500 horsemen in pursuit of him, but he escaped.

The following day, messengers on horseback arrived in Jerusalem announcing the victory of the Pasha at Nablus. The army held a joyful parade in Jerusalem, while the nine cannon were fired off. Next day Gaber Abu Ghōsh² arrived in Jerusalem from imprisonment in Damascus. The Pasha had liberated him and appointed him *Sheik Ikbir*, that is chieftain of all the villages about Jerusalem.

He had done this to spite Sheik Qāsem of Nablus and the others

¹ Beitouza is a little village situated on a high mountain, on which Sheik Qāsem had his palace, which was surrounded by high walls and looked like a great fortress. It was destroyed by Ibrahim Pasha.

² The Awlād Abu Ghōsh, a family of over 300 years standing, had been appointed guardians of the Jerusalem road by Sultan Suleiman the Conqueror, and they together with the tax-collectors took toll from travellers, from Greeks, Franks, Armenians, Copts, Jews etc. and from Moslem merchants. This toll was abolished by Ibrahim Pasha, as well as other payments. He ordered that in future they should not take a single para either from the Christians or even the Jews. Unwilling to obey this order of the Pasha, they took the toll by force. It was reported to the Pasha and he imprisoned the two brothers, Ibrahim in Acre and Gaber in Damascus.

whom he had favoured, but who had rebelled against him and returned evil for good.

Abu Ghōsh was ordered to guard the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem; so going to his village, he had perforce to call the sheiks and fellahs and advise them that in the future they should neither revolt nor molest travellers.

JULY 1st-30th, 1834.

The notables of Nablus were informed of the flight of Sheik Qāsem and his sons on the very day it took place. They saw that they could not fight without a leader, so they went and surrendered to the Pasha, who pardoned them. They then invited him to come without fear to their city. The Moslem fugitives, who were in Nablus, were afraid that the Pasha might find them there, and punish them as rebels, so they ran away saying: "If we must die, let us die in our own homes and not in the strange land of Samaria." They fled towards Jerusalem and were the unwilling messengers of the defeat of the fellahs. All of them were troubled for they thought of how the Pasha would treat them when he arrived. When he had taken Nablus and the surrounding places, he began to collect all the arms, and warned them that if in the future a gun, a sword, or a dagger was found with anybody, death would be the punishment.

During these days Mehemet Ali was at Jaffa, where he brought the *Mutesellim* of Lydda and Ramleh, and the Chief Sheiks of the villages around Jaffa (also the *Mutesellim* of Jerusalem, Sheik Yūsef, the son of Sheik Qāsem), all of whom he beheaded because they had been in league with the fellahs, and had fought for days against Jaffa. He would have executed some of the notables of Jaffa also, because they had joined the fellahs in an attempt to kill the soldiers and capture the fortress, but they escaped to Cyprus.

Regarding this latter affair, the exploits of the soldiers against the fellahs are worthy of mention. The soldiers were on the walls, watching the manoeuvres of the fellahs outside and the people of the town inside. They captured some letters sent by the townspeople to the fellahs outside, containing instructions how the latter should come to a certain point where those inside would be ready to let them enter the city and drive out the army.



Jerusalem from the Mamilla Cemetery

former died and nine of the latter. Later, it visited the Franks and eleven Friars, five priests and six brothers, as well as six civilians died.¹

In Jerusalem were three horrors: War, Famine and Pestilence.

THE RETURN OF IBRAHIM PASHA TO JERUSALEM.
HIS BATTLES AGAINST THE FELLAHEEN, AND
HIS DEFEAT NEAR SOLOMON'S POOLS.

(MAY 27th-JUNE 4th, 1834)

Ibrahim Pasha was in Jaffa when news came of the revolt of the fellahen and the citizens of Jerusalem. He decided to suppress it and immediately summoned troops from Tripoli, Beirut, Ptolemais, and other nearby places. Having collected 9,000 soldiers, he sent a secret message to the *Bimbashi* and the *Miralais* in Jerusalem, informing them of his coming.

On Thursday, May 24th, he set out from Jaffa, passed the night at Ramleh, and next day, at 8 o'clock in the morning, took the road for Jerusalem. He marched along quickly, not expecting any opposition. The fellahen, however, watched his movements. They withdrew from the siege of Jerusalem, and gathering from all sides, they took up positions along the road and lay in ambush for him at the most difficult places to pass on the way.

They allowed the Pasha to pass into the mountain valleys, and where the road was very precipitous they rolled down huge boulders from the top of the mountains, blocking the road to the horsemen and animals. Having hemmed in the army, they peppered it with shot from front and rear. The Pasha stood aghast at such an unexpected crowd and their disastrous tactics. Quickly recovering his courage, he applied his tactics and was able to escape the danger. He replied to the fire of the fellahen with the three small cannon and the bomb-shells which he had with him. Never before was he on such a dangerous road, as he himself admitted. Two days and two nights were spent covering a distance which normally should have taken five hours, during which time the troops suffered severely from thirst and want of sleep. Having lost 1,500 men, he at last, on Sunday morning at sunrise, sighted Jerusalem. He

¹ Later, seven more Friars died.

pushed on and found protection from the enemy beneath its walls. But he was apprehensive lest he should have to engage the thousands of fellahen from outside and the citizens from within. The latter, however, who were cowardly, fled when they heard of his arrival. Some hid themselves in the cellars of their houses, while others rushed to get out of the city by the Gethsemane Gate, which had been blocked up with rough stones from inside. In the rush to open it, they trampled one another to death, much in the same way as the Armenians and the Greeks did on Holy Saturday. It was laughable to see what followed, but it was a just reward for their pride. Those who once ran about Jerusalem like flying eagles, with swords in their hands, now tried to run to Mount Olivet and escape with their wives and children, and some of them collapsed by the way from sheer fear.

Men, women and children, the old and decrepit, the *Agianides* and the *Aghades*—all fled from their houses and scarcely a person remained in the city. They went out by Bethany and then wandered in those solitary and waterless mountains. The heat was oppressive and the Moslem villages would not welcome them even to a drink. They were forced to go to a Christian village called Ramallah, which is four hours' distance from Jerusalem. This village has 150 families of Orthodox Arab fellahen. There only were they welcomed with traditional hospitality; they received all that could be given as long as they remained.

Now we will see how the Pasha was received in Jerusalem.

When the guards, who were on the towers of the citadel, saw the Pasha, they rushed down to report it to the *Bimbashi* and the others. As there were no rebels, either inside or outside, most of those in the citadel ran up to the tower to see, with their own eyes, the approach of the Pasha. They cheered and shouted, played their musical instruments and trumpets, and then came out from the citadel, sword in hand. But there was no enemy to be found, for the fellahen and the citizens had had time to escape. The *Bimbashi* and the *Miralaïs* opened David's Gate and went out to receive the Pasha, who embraced and kissed them from very joy. The cannon roared out in salute. The Pasha came near to the city but refused to enter. He stood in front of David's Gate under the scorching sun. Neither did he allow the soldiers to enter, but sent them to the camp on Mount Zion.

The Pasha was very tired and thirsty, and asked for some water. A Frank from Jerusalem immediately fetched a little jug of water. He drank and then gave it to his *Miralaïs*. Then came a native Orthodox with a jug of water, of which the Pasha also drank. Crowds of people, Orthodox, Franks, Armenians and even Jews came out to see the Pasha who was their deliverer and saviour. Not one Moslem, young or old, was visible.

The Pasha then asked the Christians who were present, how they had fared at the hands of the rebels and if they had suffered from them. Wishing him a long life, they explained to him what had happened, and he consoled them saying: "Don't worry more, for your father has come. I came especially for your sake. Where are the Moslems of Jerusalem? What has happened to them all? Why are they not to be seen?"

They replied that the Moslems were frightened of him and had fled. He said; "But why do they fear? Who has any designs against them?"

During this conversation the Armenians arrived with *sherbet* and coffee, thus out-running ours because they were nearer. He received the Armenians kindly and partook of their hospitality and gave to those about him, and asked them if the rebels had maltreated them. They replied that a few only of their houses had been destroyed. Just then, the Franks and ourselves arrived bringing sweet *sherbet* and other things. He again helped himself saying: "I drank before because I was thirsty, I drink now for your pleasure." He smiled as he said this, and then enquired if we had suffered from the fellahen, etc.

Having spoken for half-an-hour with the people, he bade them good-bye and mounting his horse, he proceeded to the place on Mount Zion where he had encamped before Easter.

An hour later a herald passed through the streets ordering all the citizens, Moslems, Christians, and Jews to open their shops without fear, and to continue buying and selling as formerly. On Sunday, the Pasha entered Jerusalem.

The following day, he sent out a proclamation to all parts telling the people that they had been pardoned and that they should come and surrender without fear. He forgave their crime and gave them time until the following Thursday to surrender. He

also wrote to the citizens of Jerusalem that they should return to their homes.

Nobody came, neither the citizens nor the fellahs. The fellahs tore up the proclamation and cursed the Pasha, and next day gathered in greater numbers to carry on the fight. They encamped near the village of Mahma, which is between Rama and Jerusalem, about one hour's distance from the latter. The Pasha, on learning their whereabouts, did not await their attack, but straightway dashed against them with 3,000 men. As he approached them, they began, as usual, to throw stones and fire at him. When they heard a few rounds from the cannon, they jumped out from behind the rocks and fled. They had time only to fire one shot before they were surrounded by the cavalry. Then, jumping from rock to rock like cocks, some of them escaped while the rest were killed or captured. Those killed were 300, and the prisoners 500. The latter were taken to the Pasha, who asked the names of the leaders. Amongst them were 17 leaders who were taken to Jerusalem, the rest he ordered to set free, saying to them: "If you like, come again, and try your luck against me."

The Pasha returned to Jerusalem, bringing with him the prisoners and the spoils, such as horses, mules, asses, arms, etc. Crowds of the Christians, Franks, and Jews came out to witness the triumph but there was no Moslem present. The Pasha and his army rested that day, hoping that the fellahs had been frightened and would surely ask for mercy.

But next day, Thursday, May 31st, they gathered again at a place between Bethlehem and Bethel, called Beitjala.¹ Then coming as far as the monastery of St. Elias, they set up barricades in the quarries and in the olive groves of Beitjala, where there were thousands of trees: each one made his own barricade from behind which he was to fight. The line of fire extended from Rachel's Tomb to Beitjala. Word of this was brought to the Pasha, who quickly advanced against them in the early morning. When the cannon opened fire, the fellahs fired one shot and then withdrew to the village of Beitjala, whence they again fled lest they should

¹ The place Beitjala was in ancient times called Bethel, because Jacob came there and set up his tents and lived on those mountains called Ephrata (cf. Gen. 35⁵⁻¹⁶). Note. This is probably incorrect—EDITOR.

be surrounded by the soldiers. The army pursued them and entered the village, where the soldiers looted and robbed the houses and killed men and women, although the people called out that they were Christians. The soldiers were angry with the people of Beitjala, because, when looting, they found some of their property that had been stolen by the fellahs. The fellahs had hidden the stolen property in the village for they believed that the Pasha would not trouble it, since it was a Christian village. The soldiers, therefore, killed everybody they came across, 33 men and women in all.

More would have been killed, if the Pasha himself had not come up and put a stop to the killing and looting. Most of the inhabitants of the village lost their property and their animals (sheep, cows, mules and donkeys) and were left in poverty and need.

The next day they came to the Pasha and begged of him their mules and their asses so that they might at least carry wood thereby. But the Pasha was told that they were thieves and receivers of stolen goods, that they had a bad name and were guilty of other crimes, so they got nothing.

In this second fight only a few from both sides were killed, because the fellahs, as usual, did not fight a regular battle or hand to hand, but standing behind a tree or a stone they fired a shot, and then on the approach of the enemy, ran for the mountains.

HOW BETHLEHEM FARED

(JUNE 1st)

The people of Bethlehem were tired of supplying food to thousands of fellahs who came to the town every day, and being also afraid lest they might come by the same fate as the people of Beitjala, all of them, Christians and Franks, emptied their houses and moved with their families into the monasteries for asylum. The Franks went to their monastery, the Orthodox to ours, and the Armenians to their own. The fellahs enquired why they had left. They replied that they feared for themselves the fate of the people of Beitjala, and gave other excuses as well. Even at the Monasteries they were forced to give bread, and willy-nilly they prepared it and sent it out every three days at

first, and later every five days. Often the fellahs told them to come out and fight with them against the Pasha, but they replied that being Christians and *Rayahs* they must not fight. The fellahs, therefore, decided on Sunday, June 3rd, to attack the monasteries and rob the people of Bethlehem.

The *Ta'āmri*¹ objected and swore that nobody would touch the monasteries of Bethlehem while they were alive, and they even began to patrol the monasteries and guard the Christians night and day.

The same day, the fellahs held another meeting and spoke of attacking the Pasha on Mount Zion, but being afraid of the cannon, they abandoned this idea, and decided to draw on the Pasha by a ruse, and run on to a place favourable to them and there destroy or at least weaken him. On Monday morning, June 4th, they gathered near the monastery of St. Elias, and the Pasha imprudently chased them with 4,000 soldiers and one cannon as far as Bethlehem. When the fellahs had passed Bethlehem they used the rocks and trees on the surrounding hills as barricades and then opened fire on the army. The Pasha continued to follow, and they, running on further, hid in the caves and behind the rocks, and drew him on to the place they had decided upon, which was *Artās*,² a very pleasant spot with springs and large pools which they say belonged to Solomon.³ Here the Pasha and his *Miralaïs*, thinking that the fellahs had fled completely, decided to rest themselves and the troops for an hour. The horsemen dismounted and watered their animals. The rest of the soldiers laid down their arms and rested themselves after the heat of the day. In short, all of them were resting, without fear and without concern.

The Pasha had gone through much in the Morea (in Greece) and had gained much experience in military matters. He suspected an attack, and for safety, he took up a good position on the highest part of the pools. Reshid Bey and his *Miralaïs* with some 1,500 soldiers went to the lower spring and there they sat quenching

¹ *Ta'āmri* are said to be descendants of Thamar who lived in Judea. Their strength was 1,000 guns.

² This place is one hour to the south-west of Bethlehem.

³ These were repaired by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, the conqueror of Egypt and Jerusalem, who came to the throne 926 A.H.=1520. He also built a fortress with a wall around it near the Pools.

their thirst and satisfying their appetite, never suspecting that the enemy was lurking nearby.

Of a sudden the terrible voices of the fellahs were heard, who, rushing out from their hiding places, surrounded the soldiers and poured a volley like hail into them.

Taken by surprise the soldiers had no time to escape and had to stand their ground and fight, but they were powerless against the multitude of fellahs above them. They saw that their case was hopeless and the Egyptian soldiers threw down their arms and surrendered. The Ottomans, however, continued to fight and to be killed until the Pasha, with the rest of the army and his one cannon, came to the rescue and broke the attack of the fellahs.

It was a bloody scene; the Pasha was defeated and in sorrow he returned that evening to Jerusalem, leaving dead on the field, the flower of his army, and the capable Rashid Bey, who had so bravely defended the citadel. Eight hundred soldiers had been killed or taken prisoners, while the number of the fellahs killed was unknown.

The fellahs despoiled the dead, and took the prisoners with flags and musical instruments to Hebron where they imprisoned them. They were delighted and encouraged by their success, and so became more daring. They besieged the Pasha in Jerusalem in such a way that nobody could enter or leave the city. Even the soldiers could not go more than one hour's distance from the city. The fellahs approached as near as possible but out of range of the cannon. The Pasha did not care to follow them any more. The city was short of provisions especially fire-wood for the bakeries. All the bakers, being Moslems, had run away before the arrival of the Pasha, so that the bakeries as well as the mills were closed down.

JUNE 4th-8th

The Pasha, being in great need of bread for the army, begged the Greek, Frank and Armenian convents to lend him flour and fire-wood. The convents supplied him with flour, fuel, and bakers.

The fuel lasted but five or six days, and, pressed for more, the Pasha ordered the soldiers to cut down the olive trees around Jerusalem. He had a good excuse to offer for this in the fact

that the fellahs used them as barricades from which to fire on the city.

Meanwhile, the fellahs of Nablus and other districts made some daring movements on the plains around Ramleh and Lydda, where they looted all the houses. The fellahs also laid siege to Jaffa and Ptolemais and captured Tiberias¹ and Safed.² They robbed the Jews, who lived in these towns, of immense property, as is reported, for there was no one to offer any opposition.

The Arab Beduins around Kerak³ suddenly attacked the garrison of the fortress, which was 200 strong, and massacred them all. The people of Hebron were more lenient, for having removed the arms from their prisoners, they kept them in prison together with the governor, and gave them food regularly, until, at their defeat, they handed them over.

JUNE 11th-21st

In Philadelphia⁴ which in Arabic is called Salt⁽¹⁾, there were 3,000 soldiers guarding the strong fortress of the town. The inhabitants were unable to revolt at this time, for they had done so twice before and had been punished for their daring.

¹ Tiberias was once a large city, as may be seen from its ruins. It was built by Tiberius Caesar, and is situated on the shore of the lake which takes its name from the city. The city was destroyed except for one fifth of it, which remained and was walled by Umar ed-Dāher in 1760. The inhabitants consisted of 100 Moslem families, 70 Catholic families and 300 Jewish families.

² Safed is the important town of Bethulia, the city of Judith, built on a high place and inhabited by Moslems and Jews.

³ Kerak (Kyriakoupolis), the ancient capital of Moab, is now almost in ruins. Its walls protected the town and it remained independent of Ottoman rule. Two years ago Ibrahim Pasha with a large army conquered it. It is also worthy of mention that the few Christians who were there saved the Bimbashi, and the rest of the officers, seventy in all, and kept them in their houses, until Ibrahim Pasha came and delivered them.

⁴ Philadelphia is called in the Bible Rabbath, and was a big and powerful city belonging to the sons of Ammon. It is near the torrent of Yabbok. It is called the city of waters, because it has many springs. The above is in accordance with what the geographers, Meletius and Chrysanthos Notaras give in the description of the Holy Land, and with the Latin work entitled "*Theatrum Terrae Sanctae*" (The author appears to have confused es-Salt with Philadelphia-Amman). Ed. JPOS.

Ibrahim Pasha could not pursue the fellahs here and there, and at the same time defend Jerusalem with only five or six thousand men, so he decided to remain within the walls until fresh troops had arrived from Egypt from his father Mehemet Ali Pasha. During the stay in Jaffa he had written to Egypt informing his father of the revolt in Jerusalem, and how all the fellahs had joined together against him, and had asked for 15,000 soldiers to be sent to help him.

An hour before he departed from Jaffa, word arrived that troops would be sent immediately, and that in the meantime he should try to delude the fellahs and gain time.

Since his arrival in Jerusalem, being surrounded on all sides by the fellahs, he could neither receive nor send any news. The rebels watched carefully and captured all messages going and coming and killed the messengers.¹ Whereupon the officers in Jaffa and Acre and the other fortresses notified his father many times that they had no news of him. So Mehemet Ali hurried up the troops, who had orders to reach Palestine as quickly as possible either by land or by sea.

The fellahs while surrounding Jerusalem were informed of the arrival of the troops, for they had captured the correspondence between Mehemet Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha. The news spread that without doubt a large force was on the way. "The flies began to bite them." (They were troubled).

The notables of Jerusalem tried for a reconciliation through the *Mufti*, Dāher Effendi, and tried by all means to bring about peace between the Pasha and the fellahs. Then the leader of the fellahs of Jebel el-Khalil (Hebron district), whose name was Isa Amar, wrote a letter to the Pasha, of which the following is a summary:

(A) That His Highness should grant a general amnesty and pardon to the rebels. (B) That the levy of young men should

¹ A Christian messenger was captured with a letter sewed inside his shoes, and was immediately hanged on an olive tree. A dervish had a letter in his turban; he was captured and cut to pieces. Another was found to have a letter in his pipe and was slain. Another had a letter in his gun, and was shot with his own gun. Travellers who did not have letters were imprisoned, so that nobody could enter or leave Jerusalem.

be discontinued and in its stead they promised to pay 1,000 piastres for each young man called for service. (C) That taxes higher than those paid to former Pashas should not be demanded.

The letter included some other articles on the treaty. The Pasha just read the first few lines, and seeing the presumption of the fellahs, he tore up the letter and threw it away, saying, "Let them do their worst now."

Afterwards, however, as the troops sent by his father were not arriving, he gave ear to the soft words of the Mufti and Husein 'Abdul Hādi, but only to gain time.¹

The Pasha received another letter from Qāsem el-Aḥmed, the leader of Jebel Nablus, which was less presumptuous than the first letter; at the end of this second letter, Qāsem begged the Pasha to grant him pardon that he might come and discuss the question in person. The Pasha, in conjunction with the *Mufti* and Husein 'Abdul Hādi, wrote the usual form of document, swearing to grant to Qāsem safe conduct to and from the city. The *Mufti* and 'Abdul Hādi took the letter, for which they were sureties, and brought Qāsem before the Pasha, where he knelt down and asked for pardon. The Pasha rebuked and reproached him because he had shown himself so ungrateful for the favours conferred on him.²

He replied that he had not acted so of his own will, but that he had been forced to it by the people of Nablus and by the fellahs. In a word, the Pasha dressed him in furs and appointed him military ruler of Samaria and Judaea, and even of Jerusalem, as he formerly was, and also appointed him as a plenipotentiary with the fellahs for peace arrangements. Then he dismissed him. This was done first to gain time, and secondly as a political ruse. The Pasha was very anxious to see what would happen.

On the afternoon of the same day, Sunday, June 17th, the Pasha received a letter informing him that his father was coming on with all speed with a large force. This encouraged him.

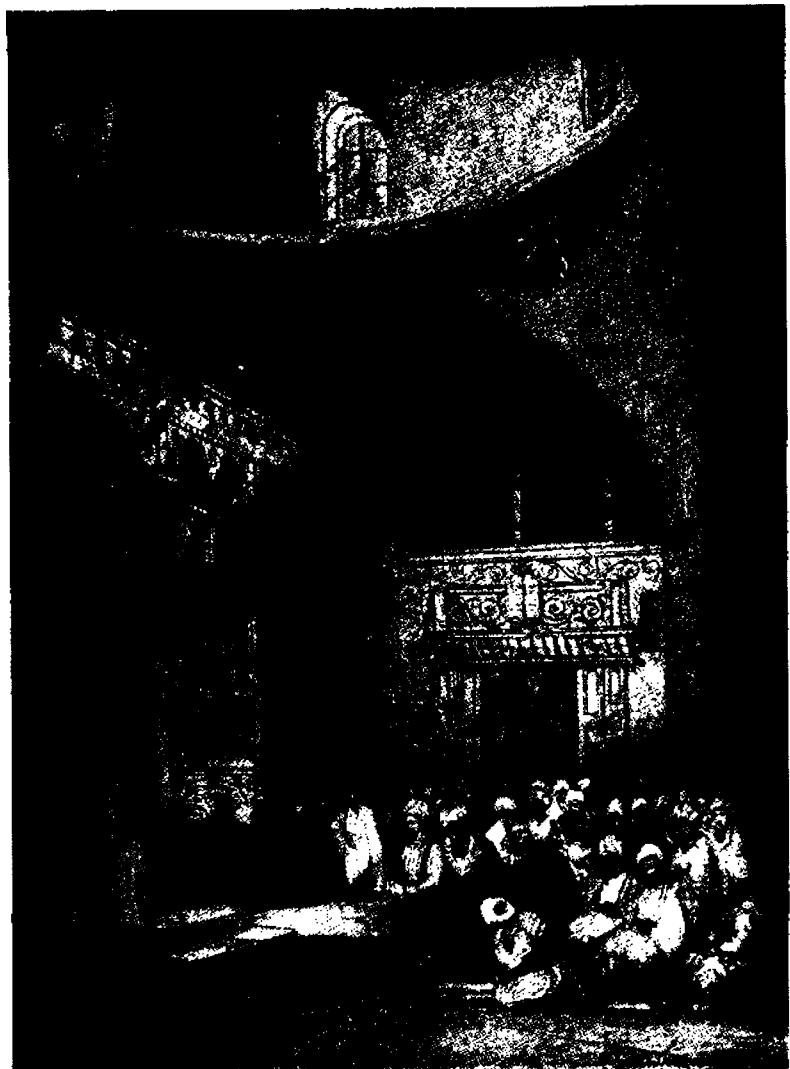
The fellahs also began to withdraw from the highways for

¹ 'Abdul Hādi we have mentioned before as having been captured by Abdallah Pasha and fined. He was imprisoned at Acre until it was captured by Ibrahim Pasha, who made 'Abdul Hādi his friend and constant companion.

² The Pasha had appointed him as officer in charge of Samaria, and his son had been appointed *Mutesellim* or Governor of Jerusalem the year before.



Jaffa in 1836



The Hurva Synagogue (?)

they believed that peace was about to be signed. They troubled no more the passers-by, so that the Christians of the villages of Bethlehem and Beitjala began to bring fire-wood for sale. They also brought victuals, which they bought from the fellahs who were afraid to enter Jerusalem.

THE ARRIVAL OF MEHEMET ALI AT JAFFA
(JUNE 18th, 1834)

On June 16th the Pasha received the encouraging news from Jaffa that his father had arrived with many ships and boats, carrying men and supplies. The messengers who brought the news were generously rewarded. Ibrahim Pasha wondered whether to leave half the army in Jerusalem and with the other half go and meet his father, or wait for him to come to Jerusalem and only send a force to clear the highway. But on Tuesday evening, June 19th, he received another letter from his father, which contained the following: "My Beloved Son, I am an old man, but out of love for you I have crossed the seas. Behold I am sending you troops, and if you are still living, as I trust you are, then come so that I may cast my eyes upon you even one hour earlier."¹

The Pasha read this and wept tears of joy. On Wednesday, June 20th, at eight o'clock in the evening, taking with him 1,500 men, he set out to meet his father.²

At midday, next day, he met at Ramleh the troops sent by his father, which numbered over 3,000 men. With these he went on to Jaffa, where he arrived the same evening.

There he met and bowed to his father and then they kissed each other. Mehemet Ali kissed his son on the lips and eyes, while Ibrahim kissed his father's hand. The old man was happy and asked his son all about the dreadful events which he had gone through.

¹ It was rumoured even in Egypt that Ibrahim Pasha and his soldiers had been killed by the fellahs and that the monasteries and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been looted.

² He took with him the elders of the city, who, in order that they might appear innocent, begged the Pasha to take them along, fearing lest they should be blamed by their enemies for whatever happened, right or wrong. The Pasha took them away, because he had captured their letters to the fellahs and knew their movements. He pretended that he knew nothing of this, for the time was not yet opportune.

While they were speaking, Mehemet Ali saw the elders of Jerusalem standing by in great fear, and he asked Ibrahim: "Who are these fellows?" He replied: "They are the rulers and notables of Jerusalem." He then pointed out with his finger: "This is Omar Effendi, a one-time *Naqib*; this is the *Mufti*, Dāher Effendi, this is Mohammed Abu Sa'ūd, a one-time *Naqib*, etc." The old man frowned, looked at them from tip to toe for a while, and then shaking his head, he sighed, but said nothing. Ibrahim was then left to change his clothes, as he was perspiring, and they followed in terror. They did not see him or his father any more, for a few days later, he sent them under arrest to Acre, and from there transferred them to Egypt, where they were ordered to remain.

THE EXPEDITION OF IBRAHIM PASHA TO NABLUS.

(JUNE 23rd-JULY 1st, 1834)

Father and son decided that no time should be given to the fellahs, but that they should be reduced and subdued and their audacity punished as quickly as possible. Ibrahim got together the necessaries of war, and a few days later marched with 12,000 men against Samaria, which is a richer and more powerful district than Judea.

The leader of Samaria, Qāsem el-Alīmed, on learning of the attack, straightway wrote to the leaders of the Jerusalem and Hebron districts as follows:

"Be it known to you all that the peace made between the deceitful Ibrahim Pasha and you and me was not a true one, but a trick by which he might escape the immediate danger, for he was then at our mercy. But now, when reinforcements have come to him, he disregards the peace and the oaths, and behold, he has already set out to destroy us. Take you, therefore, your arms and use them courageously against the tyrant. Fight bravely for your homes and your honour, for your rights and especially for your beloved children of whom he is thinking to deprive you for military service. Strike now not against the unbeliever, but against your fellow-Moslems."

Having despatched this, he collected an army of 30,000 fellahs, which he divided into three divisions. The first division, which was made up of picked men under the command of his

son Sheih Yousef, he sent against the Pasha, with orders to take up a position at a difficult pass between the boundaries of Awlād Samhān¹ and Sichem where there was a small river called Ras-el-Ain (the head of the spring). The second division, he sent to Jenin and Doubal to guard the northern approach as far as Galilee. He kept the third division with him to fortify his palaces which were surrounded with powerful walls and high towers and looked like an impregnable fortress. He roused his friends and his enemies to oppose the Pasha.

On June 24th, the Pasha with 20,000 soldiers, seven cannon and three *koumpara*, reached the foot of the high mountains near Sebastia, where the road was passable. There he encamped and spent the whole night fighting with the Beduins, the Arabs of the desert, who came not to help Sheih Qāsem and the people of Nablus, but to loot the camp.

On the morning of June 25th, the army began to climb the mountains of Samaria, where strong opposition was encountered. The fellahs of Nablus were hiding behind the rocks and trees, from which they kept up a quick fire with long-range guns, which inflicted great damage on the army, which was supplied with a lighter gun with a bayonet but of shorter range than that used by the fellahs.

The Pasha brought up his cannon and bomb-shell, which belched forth nails and shrapnel and three days later, on June 28th, he gained possession of Rās-el-Ain. There he pitched his camp, as it was a very suitable place, and immediately sent part of his army with the cannon to destroy and burn the nearby villages.

Those fellahs who were killed in battle were freed from temporal distress, but those unfortunates, who were taken alive, were sent in chains to Jaffa, and there put on board the ships by Mehemet Ali, who sent them to Egypt to learn the art of war in a royal mode and not after the fellah fashion. A *Miralai* cut off

¹ The Awlād Samhān, the descendants of Samhān, is an old family which has tyrannized the third part of the Jerusalem district. They lived in the village of Janie, an unpassable and fortified place. When passing there seven years ago, I saw a ruined church and many antiquities, and many big stones with Greek letters. At the Gate of the Mosque I saw a plain stone with the inscription: "My Lord, remember your least one, Archbishop Procopios."

to take and none returned empty-handed. During the following days they began to strip and loot the houses of the Orthodox, the Franks and the Armenians, but the leaders of the fellahs and the sheiks prevented them by telling them that if they harmed the *Rayahs*, they would incur the displeasure of the Royal Powers. In spite of this, they continued to loot the uninhabited houses every night; many of our Orthodox people had taken away their valuable goods, locked their houses, and had fled to the monasteries of SS. Michael, Nicholas, Demetrius, and Abraham. With God's help, they and their belongings were preserved. The Franks and Armenians did likewise. The Frank Convent hired men from 'Ain Kārem to act as guards for them. We did the same with men from Mālha and Moslems from Jerusalem. The Armenians followed suit.

On Thursday morning, they looted the stores, that is, the places where the government kept provisions (rice, lentils, beans, etc.) and divided the spoils. Next, they opened the government granary and each one took wheat and barley whenever he wished, and as much as he wished.

The war went on with greater energy, for the fellahs, with the citizens as guides, now numbered, so they say, 20,000. Whenever the fellahs entered or left the city, they fired one shot at the citadel, and the rest of the time they spent in looting. In spite of this, the noise of the guns never ceased, and the soldiers had to stand to, night and day, without a moment to sleep or even to take food.

The fellahs and the citizens had taken possession of the high houses around the citadel and from there they fought. They bored tunnels beneath the houses and passed from one to the other. They got very near to the citadel, which they meant to take by surprise, but the cannon drove them back.

Within the city, there was great noise and disorder and a great shortage of food. People were afraid of being robbed, and moreover everybody was in terror, for the Jews had prophesied a terrible earthquake. To us, especially, was added a third wound in the form of plague which began in the Patriarchate and moved down; seven persons died, two of whom were priests, the others servants. Then it spread to the Nuns' Convent and to the Christians; five of the



The Holy Sepulchre, 1836